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ABSTRACT

Intended for educators, researchers, and students, the document provides a survey of current reading on the education of emotionally disturbed (ED) children. The etiology of emotional disturbance is discussed, and an historical review of the role of education in the treatment of ED children is presented. Present psychoanalytic, learning, and behavioral theories are described. Covered are current approaches to the education and management of ED children, such as the psycho-educational approach, the use of crisis teachers, resource programming reality therapy, and behavior modification. Sections cover the arguments for special education of this population and for their integration into the regular classroom. Teacher attitudes and the need for inservice training of regular classroom teachers are discussed in a final section. It is noted that difficulties complicating research on ED children include lack of information about specific causes of emotional disturbance, lack of uniformity of the terminology, and varying personality theories and philosophies which influence treatment methods. (IM)

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REPORTS IN EDUCATION

Number 5

EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE

Can Emotionally Disturbed Students be Integrated? An In-Depth Review of the Pertinent Literature

by

Patricia Page Hoisak

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This report was originally prepared during studies for the MEd (Special Education). It was recommended to REPORTS IN EDUCATION by the author's instructor, Professor Nora McCardell. The manuscript has been subjected to minor editorial correction by the Editorial Board and approved by the author.

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A Note from the Editors

The REPORTS IN EDUCATION series is designed to be of general interest to educators, researchers, and students. It presents broad surveys of the research literature with the aim of being both informative and facilitating access to relevant literature in areas of educational concern.

The series therefore differs in style from the major review journals. The items are longer, more general in scope, and intended for an audience including schools and universities. It also differs from familiar educational journals by again offering much longer and detailed articles.

About this Number

This is not a prescription for how to solve the problems of coping with emotionally disturbed children in the schools. It is a survey and background to current reading. It introduces the many important questions which should be asked about emotionally disturbed children, and presents the elements of a large repertoire of approaches to answering these questions. It also discusses the arguments for and against integration and segregation.

There is something else that this report does not attempt to do. The whole area of special education is burdened with problems of terminology, labels for problems which do not make sufficient distinctions between such points as emotional disturbance and problem behavior. This document does not attempt to resolve this issue, though it raises it.

With these qualifications we believe this survey offers an excellent jumping off point for any consideration of emotionally disturbed children and how schools might best serve them. It suggests some important questions

to consider, questions which might not otherwise be taken up on their own.

This report is not entirely neutral. It comes out on the side of integration or mainstreaming as does the literature, overwhelmingly.

The Editors

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction 1

The Etiology of Emotional Disturbance 4

Emotional Disturbance--A Historical Review 6

Theoretical Diversity in the Present 9

1. Psychoanalytic Theories. 10

2. Learning Theorists 11

3. Behaviorists 12

Current Practical Approaches to the Education and Management of Emotionally Disturbed Children

1. Psycho-educational Approach 13

2. Crisis Teachers 14

3. Resource Programming 15

4. Life-Space Interviewing 15

5. Milieu Therapy 16

6. Reality Therapy 16

7. Diagnostic-Prescriptive Teaching 17

8. Teacher Moms 18

9. Hawthorne Adjustment Class 19

10. Performance Contracting 19

11. Behavior Modification 21

12. The Engineered Classroom 22

13. The Madison Plan 24

14. Summary of Strategies and Interventions 26

Table of Contents -- cont'd

The Two Educations

1. Special Education--For Whom and Why? 27

2. Regular Education--The Cause of Emotional Disturbance . . 28

The Arguments for Special Education

1. Need for The Separation of the Emotionally Disturbed . . 30

2. Goals of Special Education 31

3. Summary of the Segregationist Viewpoint 32

The Arguments for Integration of the Emotionally Disturbed . . . 33

1. Special Class--An Exclusion Device 33

2. An Assessment of the Efficacy of Special Education Classes . 34

3. Negative Implications of Special Class Placement 38

4. The Integration Alternative 39

Teacher Attitudes

1. Anxiety and Expectation 41

2. The Training Based Model 43

3. Towards Effective Reintegration 43

Conclusion 44

Bibliography 48

The Author

Patricia Page Hoisak received her MEd in Special Education from McGill University in 1974 and her BEd in 1964. She has taught for sixteen years in elementary school, special classes, and adult second-language courses, and now lives in Ottawa.

CAN EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED STUDENTS BE INTEGRATED?

INTRODUCTION

Emotionally disturbed children are of increasing concern to all involved in education. They do not respond to conventional teaching techniques and they disrupt classes with inappropriate patterns of behavior. Their difficulties interfere with learning and social acclimation in regular classes. Many became dropouts from society. They do not reach their creative potential and therefore represent a waste of human resources.

Surveys of the incidence of emotional disturbance vary according to locality, criteria, and assessment procedures but it is estimated that two percent of the population of Canada requires attention, treatment, and care because of emotional disorders (CELDIC Report, 1970). Boys outnumber girls three to one and the percentage increases by age to the high school level. Antisocial behavior is the most common reason for referral, followed by anxiety, withdrawal, academic difficulties and hyperactivity. When the underlying causes are assessed, lack of adequate socialization is the primary cause of emotional disturbance, followed by mental retardation, internalized anxiety, and brain damage (Morse, 1971).

Because school is seen as one of the major socializing agents of society, a great part of the burden for helping these children adapt has been placed on the educational system. However, since schools are primarily concerned with learning, the problems of emotionally disturbed children run directly counter to school objectives. Adequately serving the behavior problem child is a critical task most schools have to face.

In general, the literature on the topic is agreed that disturbed children create a problem in the regular class, and special class placement appears the most expedient answer. However, a review of the literature also reveals a dichotomy in the suggested procedures for the management of disturbed pupils. Some writers advocate segregation of the behaviorally disabled so that they may receive more individual attention, others prefer integration or maintenance of the problem child in a regular class. The initial impetus for special class programs usually comes from the many children who, because of their behavior, are unable to benefit from current educational opportunities or who are disruptive to the educational process of others. In these cases, the establishment of special classes is based on removal and segregation, not on obtaining the ultimate goal of bringing about a situation in which the child can successfully adapt and be provided with the skills, techniques, and traits which will enable him to return to the mainstream. Programs designed for the purpose of relieving and protecting the regular class atmosphere have segregation as the essential element (Rubin, Simson, & Betwee, 1966). Special classes then become a "dumping ground" for problem children. Programs which have been specifically designed for special needs and individual differences serve a remedial or rehabilitation function and have as their objective the speedy reintegration of the child into the regular classroom. However, there has been little investigation of the efficacy of special class placement and of the success of rehabilitation, and any studies that have been done are rather inconclusive.

This paper will concern itself with the problem of providing an adequate education for emotionally disturbed children. The difficulties which complicate research on emotionally disturbed children are

(a) the lack of information about the specific causes of emotional disturbance,

(b) the lack of uniformity of the terminology,

(c) varying personality theories and philosophies used as frames of reference influencing treatment methods, and

(d) difficulty in establishing adequate centers for research (Kirk & Weiner, 1963, p. 317).

Once the most effective combination of techniques and conditions (i.e., methods of teaching, curricula, class size, and classroom condition) has been determined, it would then be worthwhile to compare results from special classes with other treatment facilities (e.g., community clinics, private therapy). Literature advocating integrationist or segregationist models has been examined and it is hoped that a synthesis of the ideas found therein will be useful in developing new ideas about educating emotionally disturbed children. The attitude toward emotional maladjustment will be discussed from a historical perspective. A review of psychological theories and interventions which have gained prevalence in recent years should prove interesting as an departure point for a discussion of the role of special education in the treatment of emotionally disturbed children. The efficacy of special treatment will be assessed in terms of the rehabilitation of the child and the relief of the mainstream school. Finally, it is hoped that having explained various alternatives for special class, criteria for the return to the regular class can be established. In other words, an attempt will be made to determine the supportive sources which enable emotionally disturbed children to cope successfully with classroom expectations, and to outline the unique needs which are better satisfied in a small, well structured, individualized program.

THE ETIOLOGY OF EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE

Disturbed children exhibit one or more of the following characteristics:

(a) an inability to learn not explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors,

(b) an inability to build satisfactory interpersonal relationships with peers and adults,

(c) inappropriate behavior or feelings under normal conditions, and

(d) a tendency to develop physical symptoms, speech problems, pains or fears associated with personal or school problems (Bower, 1969, p. 22).

The symptoms or behaviors shown may result from psychological (including social and emotional) sources or neurological impairment, or a combination of the two.

There are different levels of etiological explanation, and the assessment given is dependent on the theoretical orientation of the diagnostician. Thus, the same symptoms manifested to different psychologists may gain a child such labels as brain-impaired, hyperactive, emotionally disturbed, dyslexic, learning-disabled, psychotic, schizophrenic, or retarded. The label, and the remediation, depend on whether the clinic is psychoanalytic, child-centered, concerned with learning theory, or an advocate of conditioning.

The inheritance theory of emotional disturbance is subject to some dispute (Roberts, 1967). Hereditary factors set the boundaries for a person's capacities, development and some actions. Environmental influences can modify these conditions. As Anastasi (1958, p. 511) notes: "heredity sets the norm and limits within which environmental differences determine the eventual outcome." Thus, inheritance may contribute to both physical and mental condition (both intellectual and emotional) and these may influence

a child's behavior.

A wide variety of studies indicate that certain neurological conditions which are the result of impairment produce specific behavior disorders (Woody, 1969). Results of neurological damage may be observed in motor impairment, recurrent convulsions, intellectual abnormality and organic behavior disorders. The majority of minimally brain damaged children appear to have received their injury early in life, usually prenatally, or in their first 2 - 3 years. Minimal brain dysfunction is the term for the specific symptoms associated with organic or hyperkinetic syndrome. Perceptual disturbances are frequent as is the presence of hyperactivity, short attention span, impulsivity, inability to delay gratification of desires, irritability, explosiveness, and poor school achievement (Woody, 1969). Persons with no known brain damage may show the same symptoms so that one should be wary of labeling all such behavior clusters as brain-injured. Since more children are surviving the hazards of uterine life (thanks to medical progress), we can assume there may be greater numbers of them who have suffered some insult to the central nervous system.

The family has an important influence on behavior as does the cultural and social milieu. Conflicting mores, standards, and socio-economic factors can affect social learning and experiences. The organism has a set of affectional and sexual needs which can influence his behavior. Thus the psychological environment produces external influences which may produce real and imaginary anxiety situations which may in turn affect the child's innate potential to adjust, develop and achieve. A child is the product of nature and nurture. If there has been some disturbance of nature, i.e., conception, birth, or personal development, then more nurturing

will be needed. Often the defect produces the opposite, rejection, anxiety, and more disturbance. There is an interaction of factors which affect behavior so that any examination of the etiology of a behavioral problem must account for the multiple causes.

EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE--A HISTORICAL REVIEW

Recording of personality disturbance is a recent phenomenon. Ancient peoples solved the problem of the handicapped by leaving them "outside the gates" or abandoned in the forests. Up until the 19th century, most people denied the existence of mental illness in children and there was a tendency toward fatalism in the theories. Researchers have found that allusions to emotional disorders in children, however casual, were totally absent prior to the 18th centruy (Faas, 1970). It was not until the period before and after the French and American Revolutions, with their doctrines of individual rights, that humanitarian reforms were enacted. Voices were raised in defense of and for the alleviation of the plight of slaves, prisoners, the handicapped, and the insane. Various anecdonal sketches were published in the 18th century (e.g., The Wild Boy of Aveyron) usually implying inherent evil in the children depicted therein.

Deviant behavior was viewed as a pseudo-theologic or pseudo-moralistic problem. Disturbances were considered to be the result of heredity, degeneracy, masturbation, overwork, religious preoccupation, sudden changes in temperature, or intestinal parasites (Clark & Lesser, 1965). It was not until the 19th century that the behavior and experience of infants and children was considered of sufficient interest for study.

Pestalozzi emphasized the development of sense perceptions and insisted that the natural instincts of the child should provide the motives for learning.

He tried to capture the feeling of family in his schools, emphasizing mild discipline and loving care.

Darwin relied upon survival of the fittest and natural selection to explain the way species changed. If change was the inherent part of the whole process of natural and human development, many began to argue, then change is also an essential characteristic of social institutions. It stimulated the desire to study social life scientifically with as much care and precision as biology had been studied. The work of Freud and Jung brought to the awareness of teachers and parents the powerful impact of the early years upon the personality development of children.

Binet's work in the identification of subnormal children using procedures to measure various functions of the brain led to the powerful intelligence testing movement of the 20th century.

From 1817-1900, the accepted pattern in North America, modelled on the European tradition, was to remove the disturbed child from society and to institutionalize it. Children were grouped according to their handicaps so that schools for the blind or the deaf, etc., were created. These schools met the needs of the community in that the child was no longer a problem to be faced each day.

The specific value of an institution is in the structured living which it provides which helped reduce the stress on the child and diminished the reactive processes between the child and his family and community. However, an institution, theoretically at least, should meet the needs of the child rather than only those of the community. Children tend to develop values and a morality in an institution which are often a variance with that of

the outside community. Artificial grouping according to sex, age, type of problem, and intelligence disrupts normal spontaneous grouping. Children tend to remain in isolation or a selective isolation and the return to the family becomes harder for those involved to accomplish. There is a reluctance on the part of the community to accept them into the mainstream so that children are often kept in a residential facility long after their need to be so confined. The children turn to the institution to fulfil their needs and often develop chronic dependency on authority figures (Donahue & Nichtern, 1968).

By the 1900's, day schools were becoming the solution (and a less expensive one) for providing an education but still allowing the child greater contact with the family and the community. This trend was in answer to the criticism that handicapped children need as close a relationship with their families as do normal children. Furthermore, it was felt that institutionalization and its inherent segregation intensified childen's problems and so there was impetus for a movement toward special services within regular schools. By the end of 1945 there were progressively fewer segregated schools and a greater attempt at maintenance of children in regular schools.

Children with handicaps such as blindness or deafness presented relatively easy remediable situations so that by the 1930's schools were beginning to provide instruction for children with visual, auditory, neuro-orthopedic and intellectual handicaps.

The effects of formal institutionalization have, to a large extent, been transferred to the special class. The length of stay in the special class may lead to "institutionalizing," i.e., the longer a person remains in a special setting, the less likely he is to leave it (Meyen, Verason,

Whelan, 1972). In other words, the special class may fulfil a child's needs and create a feeling of dependency such that he may be loath to leave its relative security and accepting climate. It was not until the 1930's that consistent attempts were made to study children with severe emotional disturbances from the point of view of diagnosis, etiology, therapy, and prognosis (Faas, 1970).

Historically then, meeting the needs of the emotionally child has not been assumed by education but has been assigned to a variety of private and public treatment modes. However, with the up-surgence of special education facilities in the 1950's, there was a trend away from isolation of the handicapped to a less segregated program. However, the appearance of special schools and special classes within the regular educational system still leaned toward the principle of segregation, albeit internally. The development of these special classes was marked by theoretical diversity and operational confusion, a reflection of the uncertainty of orientation of both clinicians and educators in handling the dilemma of placement of the emotionally disturbed.

THEORETICAL DIVERSITY IN THE PRESENT

There are several distinguishable approaches to the management of emotional disturbance. Interventions from learning theory emphasize specific behavioral objectives, a developmental sequence of tasks, planning of classroom structure and outlining reward contingencies. Behavior modification techniques are sometimes used to reshape deviant behavior so that it falls in line with the standards required for learning. The psychodynamic approach places greater emphasis on the child's self-concept, his ability to relate to peers and his growth in perceptions of social situation in which he is involved. It is an approach focusing on the underlying psychological

factors related to problems in the classroom. The sensory-neurological strategy attemps to discover how the child's behavior is linked to organic defects. Finally, the ecological strategy is critical of interventions dealing with the child alone. They see the problem as related to the child and his environment. Thus the child is taught to live in his social environment.

1. Psychoanalytic Theorists

Bettleheim encourages the free expression of emotion in order that the child's tensional outlets may be interpreted for better understanding of the disturbance (Haring & Phillips, 1962). The information thus gained provides the cues for program planning. Therefore, minimal external structure is established. While Pearson holds the same basic ideology, he does not support permissiveness in allowing free rein for expression of primitive needs. Children need to be subjected to the process of postponing gratification of instinctual drives and beginning to tolerate the anxiety which this engenders. Redl believes in structure and limits but feels the child should be given considerable freedom of choice within these limits (Haring & Phillips, 1962). Rogers suggests that social situations be arranged to suit the child (Redl, 1966). Orderliness and routine are an important aspect of the school environment for emotionally disturbed children according to Slavson (Haring & Phillips, 1962). He suggests that emotional problems can be reduced by broadening interests and providing opportunies for self-expression through active participation in learning.

Some of the proponents of this theory believe in a non directive permissive approach. Axline considers the teacher to be a therapist, a creator of an empathetically reflecting environment. The teacher must be able to understand the child's perception of himself and his reality

(Haring & Philips, 1962). Moustakas creates an environment of warmth and acceptance so that children can express themselves freely and can release their anxiety and hostility. D'Evelyn too, promotes the idea of a nonpunitive, accepting climate since aggressive behavior stems from a feeling of fear, self-devaluation, and a lack of self-confidence, and these feelings must be allayed and overcome.

2. Learning Theorists

Hynes stresses the importance of compatibility (in Haring & Phillips, 1962). A child must like his teacher. This is crucial to a warm therapeutic relationship. Cruickshank uses a highly planned, structured routine similar to that used with brain-damaged children (in Haring & Phillips, 1962). He feels that anything stimulating or distracting should be removed from the emotionally disturbed child's immediate area. Windows are to be covered, and work areas to be partially enclosed to reduce extraneous stimulation to the minimum. Even the teacher should be in monotone clothing and with no jewelry. Since these children are highly disorganized and lack order, he advocates a closely monitored and structured environment. The curriculum should follow the stages of development of the complexity of the subject matter and learning material should be presented concretely at first. Cohen, who believes that the relationship with the teacher is the key ingredient for positive change, takes issue with the idea of stimuli-free, monotone classrooms. The teacher's role is to help the child adjust to reality. The classroom should therefore retain some semblance of normalcy and not retreat to the child's reality (Knoblock & Johnson, 1967).

3. Behaviorists

For Prescott, all behavior is meaningful and he advocates the systematic collection and analysis of data about the child. He feels that a clinical approach is necessary to understand the child (Haring & Phillips, 1962).

Hewett, however, argues that none of these strategies or theories can be implemented in pure form in public schools and achieve success (Hewett, 1968). Thus, what occurs in special education classes is usually a synthesis of the ideas and methods of the various theorists molded to conform to the particular orientation of the practitioner or teacher. Hewett's proposal of a developmental strategy is an example of such a synthesis. He suggests that a child be closely observed for a period of time, as does Prescott. He identifies seven educational task levels which describe the essential behaviors and competencies a child must possess if he is to successfully learn in school. The child is taken where he is on the developmental scale, his weaknesses bolstered, and his strengths supported (D'Evelyn, Hynes) (Meyen, Vergason & Whelan, 1972). The idea is that we must gain the child's attention (Axline, Moustakas), aid him to adapt to routine and direction following (Pearson), help him to explore his environment through multi-sensory experience (Pestalozzi), help him to learn to gain the approval of others and to avoid their disapproval (Rogers), and finally, to master academic skills (Hewett, 1966).

CURRENT PRACTICAL APPROACHES TO THE EDUCATION AND MANAGEMENT OF EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILDREN

Older methods relied on the extinction of unacceptable behavior. Newer methods aim for interference in the pathological and immature processes characteristic of the emotionally disturbed child. In the following pages, some practical strategies which have led to some success will be reviewed.

1. Psycho-Educational Approach

A special program for the emotionally disturbed requires a close working relationship between a clinical team and the educational staff. Morse, Goldston, and others advocate this psycho-educational process. It involves an inter-disciplinary group. For example: a teacher, principal, reading consultant, psychologist, social worker, and other liaison personnel involved in special education might be represented on such a team (Long, Morse, & Newman, 1971). The assessment of the child is a continuous process as the team integrates divers diagnostic findings, selects feasible goals, interprets the program to parents and makes a periodical evaluation of the diagnosis and placement (Faas, 1970). The team is responsible for planning of programs. Various members of the team, because of their vast experience in other disciplines, are responsible for conference and consultation, group and individual supervision, in-service training, and therapeutic support. There also needs to be an effective home-school liaison to counsel parents and spark parent group activities.

In particular, the psycho-educational team must devise all program planning with a view to rehabilitation of the child to a regular class.

Some of the problems here would be the establishment of criteria for the transfer from special to regular class, and the preparation of the regular class teacher for the special child. Some thought has to be given also to methods of returning the child to special class should the need arise. Often there is a pressure to return the child to regular class before he is ready (Lawrence, 1971). A program needs to be judged by the number of needs met, not by the number of children returned to the mainstream school.

A multi-disciplinary team can therefore act as resource teams or individuals for the teacher of the special class and for providing assistance and support to all the teachers in helping them maintain the problem child in the regular classroom. Morse also suggests the presence of a crisis teacher in each school, someone who will help alleviate the pressures on the child as soon as they occur (Long, Morse, & Newman, 1971). Therefore, the primary aim of the supportive personnel is to help teachers build more effective ways to deal with maladaptive behavior and to consult with the teachers about effective educational and behavioral strategies (Snapp & McNeil, 1973).

2. Crisis Teachers

The presence of a crisis teacher in the school may mean that an emotionally disturbed child can be maintained in the regular class. In essence, this teacher does what a regular teacher would do given the time and training. Such a teacher is available to the child in time of crisis, when difficulties in school work or personal relationships flare and he is unable to manage his behavior. The crisis teacher acts as a safety valve. When the pressures to conform become too great, the teacher takes the child wherever he is or however he is and works with him in whatever way she can

because she is concerned with his learning and behavior. Usually, a crisis teacher is trained in life-space interviewing (to be discussed in section 4 below), situational management, remedial assessment and remedial assistance (Knoblock, 1966).

3. Resource Programming

A resource teacher functions in much the same capacity as a crisis teacher. As employed in the Techonoma Workshop in Pittsburg, the aim is for adequate functioning for severely disturbed adolescents through counseling and psychological interviews (Faas, 1970). The Resource Programmer makes a behavioral and academic evaluation of the child. He sells the qualities, skills and needs of the student to the teachers and administrators. He counsels the student on how to approach adults and supports him in his initial contacts. The student is taught to use the cafeteria and library as places to interact, and the gymnasium as a place to work off aggression. In other words, he is taught socially acceptable outlets for his behavior.

4. Life-Space Interviewing

Both Redl and Morse are proponents of the Life-Space interview as a technique designed to exploit the meaning of any event or behavioral episode (Redl, 1966). Behavior is examined or perhaps interpreted as the child exhibits it so that any resultant impact can be analyzed immediately. The idea is that the child may learn and gain insight into the cause of the behavior. The interview may engender enough connective feedback that it may modify future behavior.

Most children live by their dependence on expectations of how events will occur. Emotionally disturbed children, however, make assertions which

have a high probability of being disconfirmed (Knoblock, 1966). This disconfirmation leads to conflict and the child is caught in a cycle of self-perpetuating patterns of inappropriate behavior.

The Life-Space interview attempts to strengthen the child's ego and therefore requires differential acceptance on the part of the teacher; in other words, there is need for an empathetic relationship with the child so that the teacher can behave in accordance with the child's psychological nature (Knoblock, 1966). The issues that become the focus of the interview are closely built around the child's direct life experiences. Therefore, there is clinical exploitation of life events in order to draw out something of use for long range therapeutic goals; and secondly, emotional first-aid on the spot which provides ego support.

5. Milieu Therapy

Redl sees the need for a therapeutic milieu (Redl, 1966). He defines the milieu as the given setting, that is, everything around the child. There is a need to identify what is relevant to the child in a particular situation. This raises the question of what is important and relevant for what task, with which kind of child, at what time, and which room (Knoblock, 1966). In other words, the therapist or teacher has to decide what constitutes a supportive life experience for the child given his developmental phase level and cultural background (Redl, 1966).

6. Reality Therapy

Conventional therapy depends on the patient's ability to change his attitudes and behavior after gaining insight into the causes of his inabilities and unconscious conflicts. All aberrant behavior is an attempt to evade responsibility or an inability to take responsibility

for one's actions. Everyone needs to love and be loved, and also, needs to feel worthwhile to himself and others (Glasser, 1965). We have to maintain a satisfactory standard of behavior in order to feel worhhwhile but in fulfilling one's own needs, one must not deprive others of the ability to fulfil their needs. Reality therapy as outlined by Glasser is a therapy which helps people grapple with the tangible and intangible aspects of the real world. It requires strong emotional involvement on the part of the therapist. The aim of counseling sessions is to achieve the proper involvement in which the patient realizes someone cares enough about him to accept him. He must be brought to an awareness that he is responsible for his behavior. Therapy is not directed toward making the patient happy but in accepting responsibility for his actions.

What is the impact of Glasser's theory for the school situation? Schools must set goals for the child, goals aimed at overcoming the child's failure syndrome. The school must provide educational tasks which will allow him to experience success and thereby gain confidence The chances to form better personal relationships must also be available. The child's social situation, behavior, and past school record do not preclude success; this only removes the personal responsibility for failure. Schools have to help the child function in a better way through intensive counseling, behavior shaping techniques, role playing, etc. What starts the process is an initial change in behavior (Glasser, 1965).

7. Diagnostic-Prescriptive Teaching

Once a child has been diagnosed as needing remedial help in behavior management and academic work, it is the teacher's task to determine the precise weaknesses the student possesses. These deficits lead to the

formulation of goals to be achieved by remedial means. Activities are then planned for the child based on the diagnosis of his problem and the prescription which should achieve the objectives. The effectiveness of a diagnostic curriculum depends on the accuracy of the diagnosis and the potency of the remedial teaching. Charts are kept of progress and there is a constant reassessment of the prescription (Hodges, McCandless, & Spicker, 1971).

8. Teacher Moms

In Elmont, New York, a project was begun which was based on the premise that the group approach was not suitable for emotionally disturbed children. A one-to-one relationship was begun for each pupil. Volunteer women were recruited who were known to have successfully reared their own children and who were willing to contribute two mornings per week. Each was teamed with another woman and the two were then assigned to a particular child. These women followed a teacher-prepared plan and were aided and supervised by a teacher-in-charge and a psychologist. They were throughly briefed on the child and given adequate educational material as well as a brief introduction to methodology. The original aim of the project was to provide an effective educational program for any child who could not be contained in the regular class and who had serious educational disabilities, in order to return him to a regular class as soon as possible without separating the child from family and community. It was felt that individual programming has led to educational achievement. At the time of writing, 21 of 31 children were successfully reintegrated into regular classes. Psychological testing revealed that extensive changes in other areas of psychological functioning were taking place (Donahue & Nichtern, 1968). There seems to be an inherent therapeutic process in this type of programming.

9. Hawthorne Adjustment Class

Pimm and McClure, in Ottawa, emphasize academic achievement through an intensive behavior modification program (Faas, 1970). There is a maximum of eight pupils per class. The students are started below their ability level so that there is successful initial achievement. They work on the blackboard or on plastic so that erasures are not noticed. Therefore, the final result is perfect.

Rewards are immediate. One period a week, such as for physical education or music, is spent in the regular classroom. The period is extended as management improves. The children are gradually integrated into regular classes in the school. The final and complete move from the special class comes when academic skills are better than required for the particular grade level.

The children are initially segregated, arriving later and leaving earlier than those in the regular classes. Withdrawn children are required to play outside with other children. Playmates from regular classes are assigned to them. Four months to two years after entry to the adjustment class, they are removed to the appropriate grade in the Hawthorne School for one year. Their progress is closely monitored and the teachers have much supportive aid. Finally, the children are transferred to their home school but their behavior records are not forwarded.

10. Performance Contracting

During the late 1960's, performance contracting, or the payment of educators based on student performance, was much in vogue. In the Texarkana area, ten companies bid for the right to operate Rapid Learning Centers on a guaranteed performance basis. In Portland, Oregon, teachers competed with each other for individual awards of $1,000 and additional

bonuses for teams. The money was used to pay aides or to purchase extra material in order to minimize political conflicts between teachers and administrators. There was some regression in student performance despite rewards such as transistor radios and portable television sets. The poor showing was attributed to the low achievement level and poor motivation of the students and to the fact that some children cannot learn from teaching machines (Elam, 1970). The evaluation of performance contracting done for the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1971 considered the experiment a dismal failure (Page, 1972). Despite the incentives, there was no more appreciable gain in academic achievement than in any other regular program. However, the methods and materials used were not innovative and the criterion tests were oriented toward conventional teaching programs. (It is also unknown how much teachers in "regular classes" named as controls actively "competed" with the "experimental" groups.)

Gallagher (1971) has proposed the placement of mildly retarded, disturbed, or learning disabled students in a special education unit. This would require a contract signed between parents and educators with specific goals and time limits. The suggestion is that the contract would be for a maximum of two years and would be renewable or nonrenewable only under a quasi-judicial hearing with parents represented by legal counsel. Such a contract, composed after a thorough diagnosis and assessment, would commit special education personnel to measurable objectives to be upgraded at six-month intervals. This is certainly an interesting proposal but is bound to cause consternation in teachers of special education. I doubt that many of us are sufficiently convinced of the efficacy of our own methods that we would sign on the dotted line.

11. Behavior Modification

Using Skinner's stimulus-response theory that all behavior is learned and that behavior can be shaped or extinguished, many researchers attempted to apply these ideas to education, and in particular, to the maladaptive behavior of problem children. The behavior exhibited by these children is not viewed as a symptom of underlying pathology or of unconscious causation. Rather, it is considered an acquired or learned reaction.

Treatment efforts involve the application of specific techniques. Those maladaptive behaviors which should be decreased and the appropriate behaviors which could be increased are selected. Environmental consequences, which are presently functioning to maintain or increase the frequency of undesirable behavior, are noted. Also, those consequences or rewards which may be utilized to change or extinguish the behavior are assessed. The environment is then manipulated to alter the behavior. Acceptable behaviors are positively reinforced by tangible rewards (praise, acceptance by a group, etc.), or intangible rewards (success, self-fulfilment, etc.). Behavior that is reinforced will often increase if other factors are not interfering (Farnham-Diggory, 1972).

It follows that diametrically opposed behaviors cannot coexist. Therefore, as appropriate behaviors increase, maladaptive behaviors decrease. Knowing the aims and techniques of the behavior modification process can be invaluable to teachers, especially when the true cause of the behavior is not understood or impossible to trace.

12. The Engineered Classroom

According to Hewett, there are three essential ingredients for effective teaching,

(a) Maintenance of a degree of structure,

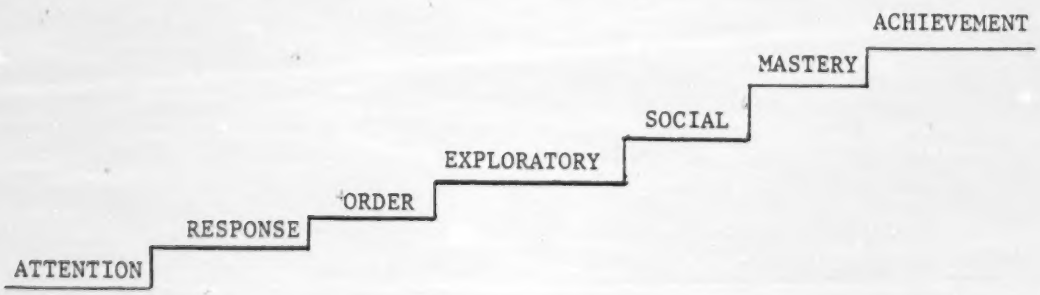
(b) provision of meaningful rewards, and

(c) selection of a suitable educational task (in Love 1972, p. 165).

The teacher becomes a behavioral engineer imposing a structure on the child. It is the former who defines the task, maintains well-defined limits, and provides meaningful rewards. Each task involves a clear-cut stimulus which leads to an appropriate response. The appropriate response is rewarded positively. Contingencies are set for the receipt of reinforcers. This is the structure of the program. The rate of positive reinforcement is scheduled. Reinforcers may be withheld, or negative reinforcers may be administered following inappropriate behavior or responses.

Hewett (1966) identifies seven educational task levels with a degree of structure inherent at each level. The type of problems which children exhibit at each level are noted. The learner rewards which could be made available are listed. Each educational task level identifies the essential behaviors and competencies children must possess if they are to be successful in learning in school.

Hewett's Behavioral Hierarchy



Each level to be mastered is allocated a specific area of the classroom where designated tasks may be undertaken. The reinforcers available for appropriate behavior are tangible or such rewards as social attention, task completion, sensory stimulation, social approval, task accuracy, or success. Checkmarks are distributed every 15 minutes to a maximum of ten per day. This alerts the student to a work-efficiency orientation. Checkmarks are exchangeable for tangible rewards.

If students show maladaptive behavior, the assignment is changed. If interventions tried prove futile, including one-to-one tutoring, the child is sent out of the room to a "time-out" area and loses his opportunity to earn checkmarks. More than three time-outs lead to exclusion from the school for the whole day. Hewett asserts that tangible rewards and chickmarks are eventually exchanged for intangible rewards of satisfaction from success and social acceptance.

Transition programs have been devised to reintroduce the child to the regular classroom. Evaluation of the design reveals its effectiveness in helping children become more susceptible to regular class instruction (Meyen, et al., 1972). The carefully structured environment with its flexible task assignments and reward contingencies helps the child become oriented toward "being a student" and prepares him for more traditional learning associated with regular classes. It would be unrealistic to present the development sequence of educational goals, classroom organization, and check-mark system as a fool-proof success formula for the education of the emotionally disturbed, but it does offer some sound guidelines along educational, psychological, and developmental principles for establishing more effective

teachers and environments for the troubled child. What about the Hawthorne effect, that is, anything new usually enjoys a fair amount of success? Hewett counters: Why not? If new approaches work, then it is the task of all concerned with the maladjusted child to keep trying different new approaches (Faas, 1970).

13. The Madison Plan

After five years of working with the engineered classroom, Hewett felt that it had two basic limitations(Blum, 1971). It was largely a self-contained classroom, keeping the children out of the mainstream and therefore putting little emphasis on social interaction. Second, there was no plan for moving children from the special class to the engineered class and then to the regular class. Thus, the Madison plan was developed. It was essentially created to combine all handicapped youngsters into a single program and to provide them with special supportive help for their educational problems with a view to eventual reintegration into the regular class.

The approach is a behavioral one. Four points of readiness were created, labeled Pre-Academic I, Pre-Academic II, Academic I, and Academic II. These set expectancies of what each child is expected to learn. A child works and functions well because there is something in the program which makes it worth his while to work and learn. These reinforcers in regular class are praise, grades, knowledge of his progress, acquisition of knowledge, and new skills. Most exceptional children do not find it worthwhile to work for such intangible rewards (Blum, 1971).

Pre-Academic I is essentially an engineered classroom where the least demands are made on the child. There is a one-to-one relationship with the teacher or the child works independently. There is no social interaction and no group work. The emphasis is on pre-academic skills unless the child is ready for more. The checkmark system, candy and food are used as reinforcers. All types of children are in the self-contained room (retarded, blind, deaf, emotionally disturbed). They are children who need the experience of Pre-Academic 1's environment. The environment has the label, not the children.

Pre-Academic II shifts the emphasis to academic skills. Six to eight children sit in clusters getting instruction from the teacher in the middle of the cluster. Children work together, cooperate, and have a lot of verbal interaction and participation. In this highly social interacting climate, the checkmark system is still used but completed cards are traded for free time rather than for food or candy. Also, all the children attend regular class for at least opening exercises for 15 minutes each morning.

A simulated regular classroom is Academic I in which a teacher and eighteen children are grouped together. Most of the instruction is from the front of the room. There is independent work. Materials are remedial and specialized. There is no longer a checkmark system but number grades for effort, quality, and "citizenship" are assigned every hour. In other words, there is a shift to an evaluation system similar to that of the regular class and much more time is actually spent in the regular classroom than in the preceding level. The last level, Academic II, is the regular classroom.

Because this program is a total school resource and many of the exceptional children are placed in regular classes for periods of time, there are always openings for other children, especially those who are not classified according to the usual label, who do need help. Therefore, the regular teacher gets help with those children who need remedial work and also the benefit of materials and methods from special education personnel. Without creating a special school, the existing special education staff and their children are brought into the program and into levels indicated. One aim of the program is for closer communication and cooperation with the regular class teacher.

This program does not neglect perceptual-motor training or language problems. Traditional methods and materials are used. There is no specific data on the efficacy of this program in reintegrating special education children but Hewett reports a general increase in the amount of time spent by these children in the regular class (in Blum, 1971).

The Madison Plan depends on the cooperation of regular teachers, the class, the principal, and the whole school staff. Picking the most suitable time for regular class placement, having a plan of action ready, having plenty of supportive services available, and having contingency plans ready if the child cannot make a smooth reentry helps to put the child in a confortable position rather than rejecting or failing him.

14. Summary of Strategies and Interventions

The overall impressions gained from reviewing these strategies is that a structured environment is an important consideration in the education of the emotionally disturbed child. Most strategies involve changes in the environment or milieu of the child, that is, the reduction of stimuli, concentration on individual learning, dilution of subject matter to ensure a successful start, concreteness in presentation, and a

developmental approach to the subject matter. Immediate reinforcement using tangible and intangible rewards is used. Expectations are clear, consequences are outlined and enforced, and attitudes are kind but firm. The most salient point is that each of these strategies has as its specific goal the eventual return of the exceptional child to the regular classroom.

THE TWO EDUCATIONS

1. Special Education--For Whom and Why?

For many teachers of regular classes, special education is a last resort. Too often, special programs exist solely to reduce community and school anxiety. Special education has helped create a parallel system to relieve the regular system of its guilt in failing to achieve competence and effectiveness in the task to educate all (Johnson, 1969).

There is no need to prove the programs are effective. The facts that special classes deal with misfits, provide relief for the establishment, and allay any fears that the children will be abandonned may justify their existence (Knoblock, 1966). The fact that these classes are available increases the readiness of regular class teachers to see minor problems as needing placement. Regular teachers see special class educators in terms of some type of direct intervention with the child rather than as advisors or consultants to the teachers. Thus, placement of the child in the special class becomes a chance to relieve the regular class of a burden, rather than a chance to cooperate in helping the child to a more adequate functioning and eventual return (Morse, Bruno, & Morgan, 1972).

Special education is a separate and major tributary of the regular mainstream. It had to work for fifty years to demand and receive legislation, financing, and guidelines for admission to its programs (Love, 1972). Therefore, having achieved this status, it will be some time before the two streams merge again. The majority of exceptional children are in the regular classes only because of inadequate special services. However, teachers are not adequately trained to handle them. Their attitude is that removal of the disruptive child promotes the efficacy of the instruction for normal children. It is understandably difficult for a teacher to maintain consistent discipline if one of the students sets his own rules. To some degree, the establishment of programs does deal with the most pressing problems of regular teacher morale, public pressure, and immediate pupil unhappiness (Morse et al., 1972).

2. Regular Education--The Cause of Emotional Disturbance

Does education for normal children actually have the potential for inducing personality maladjustments depending on the amount or type of education? The investigations of Lebovits and Moses seem to point in this direction (Lebovits & Moses, 1973). When a child enters school, he is expected to become socialized and acquire skills. He learns to cooperate, compromise, and compete. Therefore, he who enters unprepared to engage in self-instruction may face greater amounts of failure in the set tasks, and thus his progress through school is affected by his approach to subsequent tasks.

The climate that society and educational institutions tend to create in the classroom extols the virtues of excellence and competiveness. There are a growing number of children who are driven to a variety of avoidance or defensive measures because they are unable to derive a

positive sense of self in such an atmosphere (Knoblock, 1966). Rubin and Balow (1971) made a longitudinal survey of school learning and behavior problems. Of the total subjects, 41% were identified in one or more problem categories. Special services were instituted for 24% of them although they were essentially normal on tests of socio-economic, medical, intellectual, and school readiness characteristics.

The findings suggest that schools and teachers are oriented to a narrow band of expected pupil behaviors. Any pupil outside of this band becomes identified as needing special education. Therefore, definitions of exceptionality often reflect problems of pupil interaction with teachers, material, and curricula. The large proportion of children identified by teachers as needing special services raises a question as to the ability of educational institutions to adequately accomodate the individual differences found in the school population (Rubin & Balow, 1971). The typical school program seems to produce failure so special programs are set up to help the children cope. This is treating the failure rather than the process which produced it (Love, 1972). The school system itself seems to need diagnostic and remedial help in at least as equivalent amounts as those directed toward its problem children.

Once a child is identified, labeled, and segregated, we give him different materials, make different demands on him, place him in a different environment and allow him to use different sensory modalities (Carter, 1970). We decide that his learning is disordered, but, ironically, we change what we do and he begins to learn. The question arises whether it is the unadapted child or the system, which cannot adapt to him, that is at fault. A more democratic philosophy would dictate the alteration of classroom practices rather than the exclusion of the deviant individual (Lilly, 1970).

THE ARGUMENTS FOR SPECIAL EDUCATION

1. Need For The Separation of the Emotionally Disturbed

When disturbed children are placed in the special class, they invariably feel relieved (Stone, 1971). They have had to endure frustration, defeat, and isolation. Each day has often been an exercise in disaster. In the regular class, most of the other children may have been able to accept his differences, but it may have become difficult for a teacher to accept deviant behavior and constant confrontation. Other children may have used the frustrated child as a scapegoat, encouraged his behavior, or resented his interference in their learning progress and activities. A teacher often becomes frustrated at her lack of accomplishment with the deviant child.

Efforts to manage the emotionally disturbed child are curtailed somewhat by what Redl refers to as "germaphobia," that the residual effect of the disturbed child on his classmates will lead to group contagion. Saunders (1971) investigated whether group contagion would occur when socially accepted, socially rejected, socially accepted or rejected elementary school children were exposed to disturbed children for three months. The research did not support the exclusion of the emotionally disturbed child from regular class on the grounds that he will disrupt others in the same class.

It often seems more humane to segregate the child for the good of himself and other people and to give him a chance to reorganize himself. In a well organized, well structured special education class with an empathetic but firm teacher, the disturbed child may receive the chance to improve his self-concept and confidence. He may meet success in his endeavors for the first time, and, with individual help and instruction,

prepare himself gradually to face the challenge of re-entry into the regular stream as his behavior and functioning improves. Stone considers that the underlying emotionally disturbed pattern will not change in important respects but is there for life (Stone, 1971). Educational therapy need not be directed to solving the underlying or unconscious causes of neurosis, but, the major aim should be to make it possible for the child to tolerate emotional stress and live more comfortable under difficult conditions (Peter, 1965). The task of special education is not to remold the layers of personality but to provide the child with the tools and strength to function in the mainstream of society.

2. Goals of Special Education

The goal of all special education programs should be to remerge the student with the regular school. The opportune time for gradual return is when there is an awareness of change in the student's frame of reference. In other words, there is a change in his motivation, drive, academic skills, impulse control, and social consciousness (Stone, 1971). A gradual re-entry to the mainstream is recommended. The teacher for the transition period should be one whose personality, educational, and psychological orientation fill the child's needs. Because disturbed children have distorted views of information which can cause retardation of academic progress, subject matter which develops the perceptual mode, teachers discrimination, facilitates perceptual-motor development and physical activity can reduce tension (Peter, 1965). Role playing, too, can be an effective approach to settling the problem of interpersonal relationships. Classes or subject areas chosen for reintegration should not present the stress situation of the need for academic achievement. Gym, art, and music could allow the child to adjust socially to the new scene without

making academic demands on him.

3. Summary of the Segregationist Viewpoint

Hopefully, special education will not become a dead-end. It could become a two-way street if, as an outgrowth of "farming out," that is, temporary placement of emotionally disturbed children in regular classes, children having situational problems in the regular school could be "farmed in," that is, spend part of the day in special classes.

Educators who believe in the need for segregated special education classes feel that regular classes cannot make adequate provision for the emotionally disturbed. Isolation from contacts with normal children can lead to feelings of rejection and inferiority. Placement of the problem children in segregated programs is no guarantee of their social acceptance or integration. Research seems to indicate that emotionally disturbed children in regular classes are less well accepted than normal children. Also, emotionally disturbed children in regular classes achieve less well on the Wide Range Achievement Test and the Behavior Rating Scale than do emotionally disturbed children in special classes (Long, 1971).

There seems to be some justification and support for the creation of special classes provided that there are adequate supportive services which enable the student to cope successfully. There is certainly reason to believe that emotionally disturbed children have certain unique needs which can only be satisfied in a small well structured, individualized program (Peter, 1965). Selective placement in a class for disturbed children with a teacher who has special skills and training appears justifiable (Long, 1971).

Some disturbed children definitely improve in special programs. However, there is great doubt that all do, which means that special education is by no means the universal panacea. The values and limitations of special education classes need to be assessed. We must know in psychological terms what the actual experience involves and what return to the regular class means to each child.

Simply to establish special education programs to take the strain off the regular system destroys both the children and the teachers (Knoblock, 1966). There is evidence that the teachers of these children then suffer the same damaging stigmatized social relationship with their fellow teachers that the children encounter with the rest of the school population. When special education is a total school involvement, it is considered as programs, services, or resources rather than a class. The class concept leads to the "separate but equal" myth.

The goal of special education programs is, therefore, not to remold the child but to build a veneer of structure and organization wich will provide the child with the tools and the strengths to join and function in the regular class which can be considered a microcosm of society.

THE ARGUMENTS FOR INTEGRATION OF THE EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED

1. Special Class--An Exclusion Device

The danger of special education services is that classes designated slow learners or for emotionally disturbed children may, in reality, be for an in-school mechanism of exclusion, especially for poor children of all cultural backgrounds (Regal, Grossman, & Morse, 1972). These children face *de facto* segregation based on socio-economic level. One way of solving the problem of the unwanted, intolerable, or incorrigible child is to encourage him to absent himself from school by harassment.

The methods are well known but few of the teachers or administrators using them would ever view their methods as damaging to children. However, physical punishment, the use of tone and inflection of the voice, lack of encouragement, counseling which consciously or unconsciously reduces initiative and insults the sensibilities, tracking, special classes with their inherent labels, all dehumanize the educational system, especially at the point where the borderline student needs special consideration.

2. An Assessment of the Efficacy of Special Education Classes

Efficacy studies of special classes have yet to demonstrate that existing special education models have produced anything that is superior to what is produced in the regular class setting (Lilly, 1970). Also, research indicates that the emotionally disturbed child can be educated adequately in both the regular or special classes. The word "adequate" has relative meanings but the fact remains that most emotionally disturbed children are found in the regular stream (Love, 1972).

The function of the special class has been in creating a place where deviant behavior is legitimate and expected. Being labeled and placed in the special class changes the student's position in the social structure. Others will react toward him in terms of their understanding of his new status. There are benefits to the child. He is no longer regarded as naughty or "bad tempered," but is now described in terms related to illness, for example, disability. The rejection and exasperation he usually met are now replaced by shelter and understanding. The student is now cast in the role of patient, therefore, expectations on his performance of required roles will be reduced because he cannot be held responsible for being sick and he is exempted from performing

certain normal role and task obligations (Towne & Joiner, 1968). This categorizing of children leads to labeling and an erosion of self-concepts. Moreover, there has been no empirical demonstration that children are in any way benefitted over and above what can be achieved in regular class.

Children who are labelled emotionally disturbed, learning disabled, etc., do not form distinct and homogeneous categories for educational goals and methods. There seems little reason for placing disturbed pupils together as if they exhibited identical needs. A study by Hughes investigated the meaning of six commonly used labels to regular class teachers (Hughes, 1973). "Learning Disabled" and "Educationally Handicapped" were labels viewed more positively than "Emotionally Disturbed" or "Behaviorally Disturbed," which suggests that children with the first two labels might be more acceptable in a regular class. A more positive label might result in greater opportunity for success for the child. Findings clearly suggest labels are an important variable in the successful regular class placement for handicapped children.

One notices commonalities in the categories of mild handicaps. All are stated in terms of problems within the child and all refer to less than adequate situations in the school (Lilly, 1970).

Basing educational programs for the emotionally disturbed on the assumption of homogeneity can be challenged as to the appropriateness to the needs of the children. Grouping based on achievement test results assumes the accuracy of test results and is based on the premise that background experiences are constant. Little account seems to have been taken of the fact that interest, motivation, parental attitude, social class and status are all variables in group achievement standards.

Segregating students on the basis of their disability or deviancy implies that groups are uniform and that there will be little interaction between groups or that any interaction will be of little value (Love, 1972). The process of categorizing leads to the isolation of the special class and some attendant mysticism surrounding its program. Lilly contends that the traditional self-contained special class leads to separate and unequal education which stigmatizes the disadvantaged and racial minorities.

Intensive studies by Rubin, Simon and Betwee on the impact of special classes suggests there is limited improvement, this restricted primarily to classroom adjustment and reduction of symptomatic behavior (Long, 1971). Most institutional and special class programs result in a modicum of improvement. Other researchers' findings led to an investigation for the Wyandotte Board of Education into who was being benefitted and what types of characteristics influenced special class placement (Rubin et al., 1966). Children with maladjustment to school show significant evidence of perceptual, motor, physical and verbal inadequacies that interfere with their abilities to meet school demands. Although a variety of symptoms may be exhibited, these have a tendency to cluster, reflecting a major type of disabled reaction.

Children showing symptoms primarily associated with disorientation to the environment are likely to evidence some degree of neurological and psychological malfunction. Specific instructional programs to correct their deficits in cognitive, perceptual, and motor functions are needed. A classroom atmosphere created to increase their attention and offer support to their poorly controled emotional reactions is essential.

Behavior clusters which indicate anti-social behavior usually reflect adequate physical skills or cognitive abilities (Rubin et al., 1966). Such problems would appear to require help in improving interpersonal relationships. Another behavior cluster shows unassertive, over-conforming behavior. There is very little evidence of correlation with neurological or electroencephalographic variables or poor motor function.

Remediation would involve improving the ability to communicate and to interact with others. It can be assumed that not all these behavior clusters will respond equally beneficially from special placement. The children whom improved the most in the Wyandotte program were those who manifested poor perceptual and motor skills and whose reactions to their difficulties in coping were more likely to be withdrawal and quietness. This knowledge, that certain types of symptoms show significant improvement when the child is referred to special class, might prove beneficial to schools exploring alternatives to the special programs.

The efficacy of special education programs requires new evaluation procedures which assess the child's progress as part of an interacting system which includes the family, school, community, and social value system. Interventions will be useless unless the program enters the ecological condition of the child and attempts to influence the exchange between the child and his environment. Education alone cannot compensate unhygenic societal conditions (Long, 1971), and a segregated education even less so.

3. Negative Implications of Special Class Placement

Knoblock questions whether emotionally disturbed children have to be separated and identified as a special group and handled outside the regular stream (Knoblock, 1964). The number of children requiring special services is growing at an alarming rate. It certainly seems ironic that children have to be placed in special categories in order to receive the developmental program not provided by regular education. Johnson notes, after reviewing the pertinent literature, that there seems to be greater academic achievement in regular class but that superior social adjustment results from special class placement (Peter, 1965). Perhaps this last result stems from the protected environment of the self-contained special class.

The attitude of teachers that removal of the disruptive child promotes the learning of normal children seems rooted in the desire of teachers for more homogeneous classes rather than in any demonstrable proof that segregation is efficacious. Cassidy and Stanton's findings that special classes are superior to regular classes in the elements that foster personality may perhaps be explained also by the special teacher's personality and approach (Osterling, 1967). However, the question arises whether increased personal and social adjustment is really achieved in special classes. It would certainly seem that the regular class is more analagous to heterogeneity of the post-school life situation so that segregating the emotionally disturbed students for optimal learning might result in post-school adjustment problems.

Placement in a special class usually requires an assessment of deviant physical or psychological characteristics related to sub-optimal progress and need for an alternate program to remediate problems. However, assessments are often made on the basis of inadequate, questionable, or irrelevant

information. The most detrimental factor seems to be the lack of comprehensive theory for the classification of abilities. Instead, we have a fragmented categorization based on superficial behavior characteristics and clinical signs of indefinite origin (Osterling, 1967). The deviant characteristics tend to be stressed more, so that expectations are set up which directly or indirectly influence the child's self-concept and role perception. The needs of these children are heterogenous; we cannot infer an educational technique from the given descriptive label. Rarely, if ever, do we explore the characteristics of the school system which rejected the child or was considered unsuitable for him.

4. The Integration Alternative

The emotionally disturbed child usually has problems in all-round development, learning, adjustment and social acceptance (Kendall, 1972). These all raise barriers to his successful integration. These barriers seem to require an adjustment in school organization rather than removal of the child from the mainstream. Examples of barriers are

(a) the child's learning difficulties,

(b) the organization and administration of school programs which demand a unitary level of achievement rather than providing for individual differences,

(c) the school curriculum which provides for a narrow band of interests and abilities,

(d) availability of personnel,

(e) attitudes of teachers and others in the school situation,

(f) attitudes of children in regular classes,

(g) theories and practices of those in related professions, and

(h) funding policies in special education.

Some children are segregated from the regular school (for example, educable mentally retarded, handicapped), because of the attitude of normal children toward them. Others (emotionally disturbed, learning disabled), are separated because of the retarding or disruptive effect they have on other children's progeess. The greater the degree of handicap, the greater the degree of segregation (Safran, 1971). In either case, we are not resolving the underlying situation, that is the attitude of the normal children. Teasing or frustration is reduced but the normal child has not had the opportunity to learn to accept and nurture the extranormal. We ask deviant children to emulate normal children, and eventually, they are expected to try to lead normal lives. Too often, the special class becomes a holding operation or even a one way trip which prevents normal and problem children the chance to interact. People tend to fear or be suspicious of those with whom they have little interaction. Special classes may make a child feel unable to function in regular class. Therefore, this separation of handicapped children can pose a real psychological danger (Blumberg, 1973).

Does special education become the practice of disqualifying a child from social acceptance in order to provide him with the educational services he nees because of his unique characteristics (Knoblock, 1966)? There is no reliable evidence that differential benefits, either social or academic, accrue to regular students as a result of either the exclusion or inclusion of exceptional children (Lilly, 1970). Stark and Bentzen feel that normal classroom groupings, schedulings, and programs of learning activities under the direction of a good group teacher constitutes a powerful therapeutic device in themselves (Long, 1971).

Many children who are referred to special class could be taught and managed in the regular class if a crisis and resource teacher were available to provide temporary support and control.

Special class education should be regarded as a temporary intervention which prepares the children for integration into the regular class. It must be recognized that children's difficulties are a result of the interaction of the teacher, child, and school. Therefore, there must be a reorganization of the regular stream before the problem children can be successfully reintegrated. Nongraded, flexible scheduling can accomodate pupil variability and diverse educational purposes and activities (Iano, 1972). There is a trend today toward resource teacher approaches which help maintain the child in the regular porgram. Open education, too, allows for the flexibility of program needed for the special child (Knoblock, 1973). The child can discover his strengths and limitations in such a milieu. "Their way" can be accepted. The responsive environment of open education allows a child to try out his new skills, feelings and behaviors. Perhaps education should aim to create classrooms which allow for a broad range of learning, interests, and behavioral needs. Children should be allowed to have the multi-level standards that are accepted in the community.

TEACHER ATTITUDES

1. Anxiety and Expectation

Once in special class, it is very difficult for a child to return to the mainstream. There is great anxiety that the child might be returned before he is cured. Teaching personnel are usually dubious about any manifest change in the children. After all, they have tried

all the known techniques to little avail and there is a marked suspicion that the child will repeat his maladaptive behavior. Therefore, an expectation is set that the problem child must behave and perform academically better than the regular class child in order that he no longer be considered a problem. This is a trying situation for the child. His reputation causes him to be constantly monitored.

The problem at the beginning of any program to reintegrate behavior problem children is usually not their academic deficits but the apprehensions of the regular staff (Schultz, 1973). There is a need, therefore, to increase the individual contact between the regular and special teachers to help support reintegration. First, there should be no integration until the child is at or near the appropriate level of behavior and grade-level of scholastic achievement. The process of re-entry should be a gradual one and neither the teacher nor the student should feel that it has to be permanent.

Adequate channels of communication and supportive services must be available to the regular teacher after the reintegration process has begun (Blum, 1971). However, meaningful in-service experiences for the regular staff and a fostering of those competencies which will aid them in teaching emotionally disturbed children can overcome some of this problem. In-service programs can also do much to keep the educational community informed of special education and its implications for regular teachers (Rubin, et al., 1966). The goals, needs, and objectives of the emotionally disturbed must be explained to the regular staff and they must establish realistic expectations of the child. This can be done if they have been provided with realistic information to allay their misconceptions or any unwarranted fears concerning the child. There seems to be a correlation between counseling teachers and positive change

in their attitude toward disturbed children (Minde, Benierakis, & Sykes, 1972).

2. The Training Based Model

Lilly has made the suggestion that we move from defining exceptional children to defining exceptional situations, for example, an exceptional school situation is one in which the interaction between a student and his teacher has been limited to such an extent that external intervention is deemed necessary by the teacher to cope with the problem (Lilly, 1970). Neither the teacher nor the child is considered to be the causative agent and, therefore, the classroom situation requires analysis before statements are made as to the nature of the problem and its remedy.

The special educator then becomes the instructional specialist who imparts to the teacher the necessary skills he needs to handle the problem. Diagnostic teaching is suggested as the base for the instructional program designed to provide the teacher with these skills. In other words, the competencies lacking in regular class teachers form the basis of in-service training according to the Training Based Model proposed by Cartwright and Cartwright (1972).

Thus, the role of the special educator changes from being child-oriented to a teacher-educator role; special educators train regular teaches to deal with a child's problems within the regular class. The special teacher then assumes a supportive role.

3. Towards Effective Reintegration

The special class thus becomes only one of a continuum of available services. Visiting teachers, consultation for regular class teachers,

remedial reading instruction, child guidance, day care, hospital treatment, can all be utilized to prevent the special class from becoming a "dumping ground" and to help the deviant child. The entire aspect of public relations is important here. The regular teacher has to be sold on the idea of reintegration.

The regular teacher should be kept informed of the child's progress from the time of referral for his problems to the time of his reintegration. Both the child and the regular class should be prepared for the reintegration. There should be visits between the classes of the special teacher and the regular teacher prior to reintegration to help reduce anxiety and reluctance. Even the day of integration is an important variable. Entering the regular class near the end of the week allows the child to familiarize himself gradually with the class routine (Meyen et al., 1972).

There are three prime considerations in the selection of the regular class,

(a) the cooperation of the regular class teacher,

(b) the personality of the receiving teacher in relation to the special child and his needs, and

(c) the special academic needs of the child (Meyen et al., 1972).

Successful integration is thus influenced by the degree of flexibility available in academic programming.

CONCLUSION

It is implicit in research findings that an alteration in educational programming, in general, can lead to a reduction in the flow of children requiring special education services (Rubin et al., 1966). The school is the only public resource which sees all children over long periods

in a real-life setting and is, therefore, a mental health resource of great significance (Morse, 1971). The goals for any program require that the school be responsive to the increasing range of individual differences (inappropriate schooling has been one source of behavior deviation). Curricula should be designed to foster socialization and maximize a therapeutic milieu by enhancing self-esteem and interpersonal relationships (Johnson, 1969).

There must be relevance to the child's life. The effectiveness of what goes in any program is influenced by the child's perception of what is appropriate, desirable, and possible for him to learn. One goal should be to create a self-conception of ability rather than inability. The stark reality is that many will be minimally adjusted for the rest of their lives (Knoblock, 1966). Our concern should be to prepare them for what their lives offer rather than for a theoretically normal life.

A shift in viewpoint is one of the first conditions necessary to successfully integrate the emotionally disturbed child into the mainstream of school life. The closed-door, self-contained concept of the special class has to be overcome. A number of alternatives to special class placement have been proposed, including itinerant teachers (crisis teachers, resource teachers), resource room programs, special educators as developers of prescriptive programs for all regular teachers in a school. All of these emphasize greater flexibility in selection, placement, programming and maintaining the problem child in the general program. All the suggested procedures require increased coordination and communication between special education and regular education streams.

Special class placement must be a total school investment that promotes interaction between the special and regular streams, prevents development of socially stigmatizing situations, and forms the basis fo preventive measures. All the alternatives to a special class should be tried and only when there appears a need for more program adjustment should the child be referred. The special class should serve as an insulation against the development of the fear of failure and the unwillingness to risk oneself (Knoblock, 1966). A program for the emotionally disturbed means more than just a special class program. A range of services needs to be merged into the instructional and personality needs of these children.

An important variable in planning services for the emotionally disturbed is the type of teacher personality and style that best fits the children needs. Morse evaluated the emotionally disturbed pupils' perception of special class (Morse et al., 1972). In general, they recognized what was taking place there and that the teacher was useful to them although they often began with negative attitudes. They seemed to want a person who cared for and who respected them. It is most important that a teacher be aware of the ambivalence of the special experience for many children.

It has been suggested that regular teachers receive the benefit of training in understanding and providing for extra-normal children (Morse et al., 1972). We have an unsupportable position to the right and the left. On the one side, special classes have not demonstrated efficacy, and on the other, there are clearly many problems attendant with regular class placement. Special training of regular class personnel and regular supervisory staff should clearly be the new area of attention. It is rather interesting that despite the fact that school-related attitudes

become increasingly negative as the grade level advances in normal children, in emotionally disturbed children's perceptions, the teacher has an amazingly favorable position (Thomas & Yamamoto, 1970).

The current trend to mainstreaming as a solution to the exceptional child's problem implies that emotionally disturbed pupils require nothing of consequence which cannot be provided in a typical classroom with a typical teacher and a typical assortment of children. On the other hand, special education professes to provide the essential and individual instruction which cannot be found in the regular school classroom.

This paper has posed the question whether the emotionally disturbed can be integrated into the mainstream and if so, whether it is worthwhile, considering the effort required. Many alternatives to segregation and exclusion have been explored. New approaches within the special class have been assessed. The bulk of the literature reviewed contends that integration is preferable to segregation and the benefits which the effort reaps makes the strategy worthwhile to pursue. Society is not homogenous and, therefore, education should be received in a milieu which is similarly diversified. The principle should be integration where possible and segregation where educationally relevant. If a meaningful relationship exists between diagnosis of the problem and provision for better educational opportunities for the child, then the question of integration versus segregation is resolved.

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